/78 cont./
412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[128] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigutyn.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[212] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

Carangas—
Chipaya

.394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

2:Méraux--143 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
Chipaya

/158 cont./

reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall. They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been throughout time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (bosp) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[173]

1. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/. Ms.... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks in the oven, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

Nordenskiöld--15 D.F-9 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/178/

V. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 182 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. All is ready; we can leave now in the balsa. 2. This balsa has a very raised prow so that the very strong waves will not submerge it. 3. We are going to erect the mast. 4. We are going to hoist the sail. 5. The wind is coming from another side; let us change (the orientation) of the sail. 6. The sail is swelling very much; the wind is strong. 7. We are going to lower the sail. 8. We are going to put a rock on the sail so that the wind does not carry it away. 9. We are going to place a piece of wood vertically. 10. We are going to hang a pot (from it). 11. We are going to spread (on the water) (a bed) of totoras to light a fire (above). 12. The fire is burning; the water is going to boil and we shall drink.

Remarks

In the first part of this text (1-6) the narrator describes the departure for fishing and the maneuvering of a balsa with a sail of the type used in certain parts of the Desaguadero with a simple mast; their raised prow permits them to withstand rather strong waves. The balsas on Lake Titicaca are larger, with a prow which is also raised, but with a double mast and a larger sail.

The second part (7-12) shows the preparations of the Uru for spending the night on the water. The balsa is halted in shallow water; the sail held by a large stone shelters the fishers from the wind. A limit hook placed in the mud is used to hang a pot above /178/ a fire of totoras, lighted on a thick bed of reeds thrown on the water.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the 231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white [262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
191

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed [284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 112, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over [354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and [342] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The [184] Sojopata *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the Isle of Similaque. On the Isle of Pomata there are round, stone-roofed houses.

8:Pein T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
EP34 Urs EP34
Ivm. Ivu

[24] rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

[14] By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's

[03] quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

[54] Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty pena, the last was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The

[53] five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or greatcoats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* *). This

[51] latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to

[5-] RETIRE TO OUR RESPECTIVE QUARTERS.

*) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up, sun dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

(Aymara rectangular houses are tile-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or totora-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *Fola* (a kind of grass-brush), yareta (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *tolola* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their conquerors the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere universally in the altiplano. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymara style. Mitrani noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kenlliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.*

* David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193-305, 1870), p. 222. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 48, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1890), Vol. 4 pp. 188-207. Mitrani (*BAAF* 20: 185-194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymaras are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the Aleño or Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the precedence of the Uru. Round mud Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld (he says from among Aymara at Tocori, near Corbalanche (Otto Bonn *Letter to Nordenskiöld* in 1903), Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

[113]